

The Reply

An Anti-Suffrage Magazine

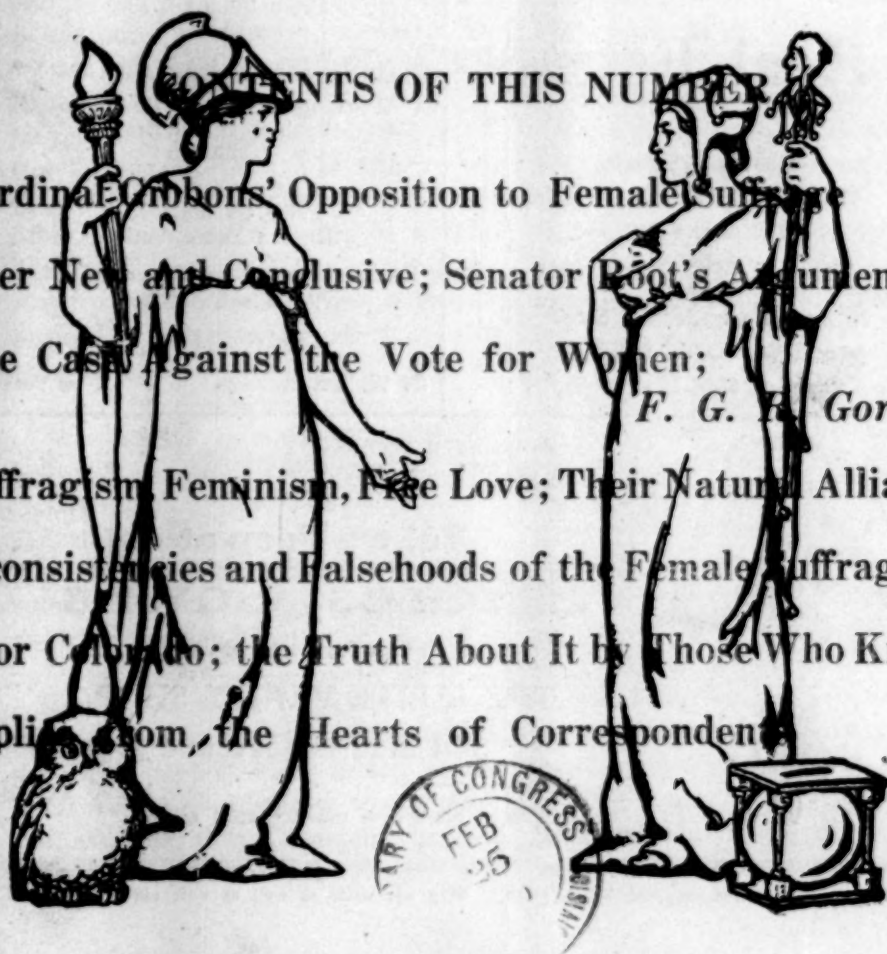
Second Year

December, 1914

Number Six

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The Reply

Edited and Published by Helen S. Harman-Brown

PUBLISHED MONTHLY, AT 27 WILLIAM STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Subscription Price: \$1 Per Year; 10 Cents the Copy

Entered as second-class matter May 9, 1914, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y.,
under the Act of March 3, 1879

The Reply is on sale at Brentano's, Fifth Avenue and Twenty-seventh Street, New York,
and at Brentano's, Twelfth and F Streets, Washington

Editorial Notes

The reason why the Mormon Church wants female suffrage is perfectly clear, and a thousand letters to a thousand newspapers by a thousand apologists for female suffrage will not change this. The Mormons control their wives, whether polygamous or not; and thus they control their votes. And it is by a control of the votes of Mormon women in the other Inter-mountain states as well as Utah that gives the church the power that it thinks it needs. Also, it may be stated that this is about all that needs to be said.

The \$25,000 of insurance which the suffragists of New York are proposing to take out as against their defeat in the fall, all for a trifling premium, of course, may serve as a precedent by which innumerable other suffragists will get rich quick without any effort.

Nothing could be more shortsighted than to assume that any defeat which the suffragists encounter in any of the states or at Washington, or anywhere else, will deter them from going on with their noisy and boastful campaigns. It is

the sheerest folly for opponents of this radical and thoroughly questionable proposition to remit for a moment the utmost efforts that they can put forth. In the first place, the suffragists will claim that every defeat has been a victory; and as further evidence of their not wholly scrupulous regard for the proprieties of decent campaigning, they will issue false or misleading advertising matter, just as their speeches and other printed matter will certainly contain this.

There are many sincere and well-meaning women attached to the female suffrage cause. They, however, would not be enough to keep the machine going. There are, in addition, the numerous aggressive and ambitious women who desire to be "leaders," and with them, serving under them or somehow managing to come along to ornament the pay-roll—or the various pay-rolls—sub-leaders or semi-leaders of the different suffragist organizations. These would-be leaders, courting prominence, and these very many ornaments of the pay-roll, added to the sincere and often practical financial interest which the good women men-

tioned above will take in the case, are sufficient to keep the agitation moving.

Since it is so clearly true that the craze for notoriety and "leadership" and the need for earning a living by some means must continue to actuate so many persons connected with the suffrage movement, it follows that every device of politics, of self-advertising, of money raising, of campaigning, whether questionable or not, will be resorted to now and in the future as in the past. This means that there is nothing for it but that a steady, determined, reasonable campaign of increasing vigor and resource must be waged against them. This campaign will win, because it is on behalf of what is right, and what will appear at the proper time to be best. But that is not enough. The exertions of all men and women who object to this proposed degradation of womanhood ought to be put forth now, and every week or day, until the fight in the Eastern "campaign states" is over, and the defeat of the suffragists is overwhelming.

The cost to the militant suffragists alone of the hopeless fight before Congress has been, according to one admission, \$37,000, and, according to another, \$53,000. These lobbyings come high, but the militant suffragists must evidently have them.

It seems rather odd that Mary Washington, who, as we recall, was only the mother of the father of his country, should be included in the suffragist list of immortals.

"What," asks a Massachusetts anti-suffrage publication, "becomes of the suffragists on Election Day?" Again

this year in Boston only 2 per cent of the women over 21 voted. Are there no more suffragists in Boston than that? If there are, why do they neglect to vote on anything so important as the management of the public schools? Heretofore their excuse has been that since they could not vote at the primaries where the candidates were chosen, it wasn't worth while to vote at all. This year the primaries were open to them, but still only 2 per cent voted. The conclusion is unavoidable that what the suffragists want is not to vote, but to agitate for the vote.

The *Survey* prints a map showing which states have Workingmen's Compensation Laws. It is interesting to note that the four states which have had woman suffrage longest, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho, are all black on this map, showing that they have no such laws.

The man's female suffrage committee of New York is raising a campaign fund of \$20,000; again proving that "the movement," being so thoroughly for the advantage of the downtrodden, needs no money to propagate it.

Mr. Laidlaw ought to be careful, or too many men cooks will spoil the female suffrage broth at his suffrage quick lunch in Wall Street.

"Perhaps what Colorado has lacked all these recent years," says the *New York World*, "is a first-class woman Governor, one of the kind that used to take charge of an unruly school and beat knowledge and discipline into it. But in that case the lady should have a fair chance. She ought not to be an Associate or Assistant Governor, in which

doubtful capacity the new Chief Magistrate at Denver now asks his wife to act. If there is any State in the Union that needs a real Governor, a Governor in his own right, a masculine Governor, it is Colorado. Failing in that, as it appears to have done, there should be some way of conferring the necessary authority upon the deputy thus strangely chosen. A Woman-Suffrage State that cannot have a real Governor in boots, certainly ought to have a real Governor in petticoats."

From now on some of the papers at least will print lists of prominent public men in New York who have come out for suffrage. And thus we are invited to agree not only that the state legislators will submit the suffrage question to the voters of the state (as everybody agrees and hopes that they will do), but that this preponderance of "high-class" public opinion is going to settle the matter with the voters. On the contrary, the voters themselves are going to settle it, though they will have the leadership and information and inspiration of numberless men, anti-female-suffragists because man-suffragists, who are fully committed to the opposition, but prefer to say nothing about it.

The seventh, or possibly the seventeenth, delegation of suffragists saw the President with reference to the situation in New Jersey, and came away with the distinct impression that Mr. Wilson would shortly come out for suffrage. But Col. Tumulty stated that the President had not indicated in any way what position he would take. All of which goes to show that perhaps Mr. Wilson will need his own private Ananias Club.

Mrs. Charles H. Dennison and Mrs.

Annie Riley Hale of the Guidon Club, Mrs. John Martin and Mrs. Alice F. MacDougall, New York State (opposed), and Hon. Everett P. Wheeler, John C. Ten Eyck and Dr. Rossiter Johnson, Man's Association Opposed to Equal Suffrage, have a letter in the New York *World* in reference to the drama "Polygamy," running in this city. It reads:

"Presumably Mr. Harvey O'Higgins and Miss Harriet Ford, who are reputed near-suffragists, did not intend to write an anti-suffrage play when they created the powerful drama "Polygamy." The primary motive of the play is to expose the inside workings of the Mormon system, but every disinterested playgoer who sees "Polygamy" must admit that the plight of the Mormon women as here revealed completely knocks out the suffrage theory of the ballot as the instrument of woman's emancipation and vindicates the anti-suffrage contention that if woman is enslaved—as suffragists affirm all voteless women are—the ballot cannot free her, since hers will be as slavish as herself, and like every subservient vote, a direct invitation to tyranny and corruption.

"The futility of the woman-ballot as exemplified in the case of the Mormon women, taken in connection with the fact that its extension in the West has followed the expansion of Mormonism—so that suffrage states and Mormon-controlled states are practically identical—establishes the further fact that the net result of woman suffrage, in this country at least, is to furnish first aid to the Mormon Hierarchy. And the net result is all that concerns us in the balloting.

"As those who believe that the best interests of the race are more truly served by man's looking after the state and woman's looking after the home, we wish to extend our congratulations and our thanks to the authors of "Polygamy" for putting on the New York stage at such an opportune time such a convincing argument against the expediency of woman suffrage."

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and better than most. Besides, they are not afraid of female suffrage boycotts.

"The objections to woman suffrage," says the *New York Times*, "are many and weighty; the chief among them is the danger of increasing the electorate by a body of citizens who have shown no special aptitude for dealing with the kind of questions that are submitted to voters, and whose view of such questions is likely to be amateurish, and that the consequences of such an enlargement might be disastrous is a fact too plain to be waved aside."

The REPLY could not possibly overstate the importance of inducing its readers and friends to send to the publication office, 27 William Street, New York, lists of any men or women, suffragists or anti-suffragists, who ought, on the one hand, to be converted, or, on the other, ought to have the means at hand with which to work for the cause of Woman as she is and really ought to be, more and more influentially all the time, because of the devotion of her admiring friends among the men, whether members of her family or not, who are only too glad to serve and protect her if only she remains a woman.

The lavish use of campaign money by the suffragettes is notorious everywhere. They send out speakers, distribute printed matter, hire halls, pay for music and "luncheons," and otherwise resort to the common methods of ward politics in order to have their way. The REPLY cannot resort to any of these methods, nor can these good men and women who are only too glad to back up the sane and progressive and unflinching fight against these threatening evils which the magazine is bound to continue. Our appeal is,

rather, to the leaders of thought and education everywhere, to men and women who have not lost the faculty of reasoning, to men and women who, though they may never speak at a meeting and surely will not parade the streets, nevertheless feel deeply about this question and will do their share towards settling it, and settling it right, when the time comes.

The REPLY wishes that its distribution of copies, and hence its influence, might be multiplied by ten within the next three months. That, probably, is impossible; but it is possible for us greatly to increase the usefulness of this publication if our friends will afford us the means of doing it—subscriptions (at a dollar apiece only), but names and addresses in any event!

"Most of the women whom I know best," wrote Theodore Roosevelt in the *Outlook* of February 3, 1912, "are against woman suffrage precisely because they approach life from the standpoint of duty. They are not interested in their right so much as in their obligations."

Dr. Katharine Davis tells us that it is as easy to master the intricacies of tariff and finance as it is to know the game of bridge; which only shows that men like McKinley, Dingley, Payne and Underwood could never have been masters of that game.

And here is Dorothy Dix, who asks us what privileges women have; and we would ask in return, who is Dorothy, pray? And what kind of home was she brought up in, and what kind of men has she known?

Cardinal Gibbons on Female Suffrage

From a Letter to Mrs. Robert Garrett

Equal rights do not imply that both sexes should engage promiscuously in the same pursuits, but rather that each sex should discharge those duties which are adapted to its physical constitution and are sanctioned by the canons of society. To some among the gentler sex the words "equal rights" have been, it is to be feared, synonymous with "similar rights." To debar women from certain pursuits is not to degrade her. To restrict her field of action to the gentler avocations of life is not to fetter her aspirations after the higher and the better. It is, on the contrary, to secure to her not equal rights so called, but those super-eminent rights which cannot fail to endow her with a sacred influence in her own proper sphere; for as soon as woman trenches on the domain of man she must not be surprised to find that the reverence once accorded her has been in part, or wholly, withdrawn, and that she is destined to be soiled by the dust of the political arena.

The insistence on a right of participation in active political life is undoubtedly calculated to rob woman of all that is amiable and gentle, tender and attractive; to rob her of her innate grace of character and give her nothing in return but masculine boldness and effrontery. Its advocates are habitually preaching about woman's rights and prerogatives, and have not a word to say about her duties and responsibilities. They withdraw her from those obligations which properly belong to her sex and fill her with ambition to usurp positions for which neither God nor nature ever intended her. Under the influence of such teach-

ers we find woman, especially in higher circles, neglecting her household duties, never at peace unless she is in perpetual motion or unless she is in a state of morbid excitement. She never feels at home unless she is abroad. When she is home, the home is irksome to her. She chafes and frets under the restraints and responsibilities of domestic life. Her heart is abroad. Her afflicted husband comes home to find it empty or occupied by a woman whose heart is empty of affection for him. She is ill at ease. Hence arise disputes, quarrels, recriminations, estrangements, or the last act of the drama is often divorce.

When I deprecate female suffrage I am pleading for the dignity of woman, I am contending for her honor, I am striving to perpetuate those peerless prerogatives inherent in her sex, those charms and graces which exalt woman-kind and make her the ornament and the coveted companion of man. We must remember that though woman does not personally vote, she exercises the right of suffrage by proxy. So powerful is the influence which a sensible matron exerts over her husband and sons, that they will rarely fail to follow her counsel which comes from an inspired instinct rather than from labored reasoning. When the son of Themistocles asked a favor of his father, who was a Grecian general, Themistocles replied: "My son, I cannot grant you that favor, you must have recourse to your mother. For, I rule Athens, Athens rules Greece, Greece rules the world, but your mother rules me."

Woman is queen indeed, but her em-

pire is the domestic kingdom. The greatest political triumphs she would achieve in public life fade into insignificance compared with the serene glory which radiates from the domestic shrine, and which she illumines and warms by her conjugal and motherly virtues. If she is ambitious of the dual empire of public and private life, then like the fabled dog beholding his image in the water, she will lose both; she will fall from the lofty pedestal where nature and christianity have placed her, and will fail to grasp the sceptre of political authority from the strong hand of her male competitor.

Though woman is debarred from voting, she brings into the world and rocks the cradle of the nation's future citizens.

She rears and moulds the character of those who are to be the future rulers and statesmen; the heroes and benefactors of the country. Surely this is glory enough for her. When a Roman matron expressed her surprise to Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, that she wore no jewels on her person, Cornelia was silent till she greeted her sons returning from school; and then she exclaimed, pointing to her children: "These are my jewels which I will bequeath to the Republic." If Cornelia, instead of shaping the minds and hearts of her sons to deeds of virtue and patriotism at home, had wasted her time in the Roman Forum, history would never have recorded the noble exploits of the Gracchi.

Can't See the Difference between Truth and Falsehood

Hon. Everett P. Wheeler points out in a letter to the *Sen* that the suffragists are already claiming that the passage of a resolution to submit the question of woman suffrage to the people of the state of New York will be a victory for them. He adds:

"This is characteristic. Both political parties have declared in favor of submitting the question to the vote of the people. The home rulers, as my daughter likes to call those who are opposed to the extension of political suffrage to women, are just as desirous of having the question decided by our people as the suffragists are. We beat them in Ohio by a majority of 190,000. We expect to beat them in this state by a still larger majority.

"Let me add that this claim seems to me thoroughly characteristic of the methods of the suffragists. Like all fanatics, they see through a discolored medium and do not appreciate the difference between truth and

falsehood.

"They are sending through the country a series of moving pictures in which they pretend to represent the condition of the law in this country in reference to women. Every statement of the law in this series is absolutely untrue, with the single exception that in some of the suffrage states there is no right of dower. This right exists in every state that does not give political suffrage to women.

"In a recent article in the *Woman's Home Companion* there were similar false statements in regard to the English law which that magazine was glad to correct. These were put forward as justifying the violence of the English suffragists. For example, it was stated that there was no right of dower in England. This statement was singularly stupid, for every one with the slightest knowledge of history knows that the right of dower was guaranteed by Magna Charta and has been in existence in England ever since."

It would help matters not a little if the feminists were to get acquainted with a few real men.

"Among the victories will be woman suffrage in New York," says Mrs. Catt. We shall see!

Ever New and Conclusive; Senator Root's Views on the Woman Suffrage Question

I am opposed to the granting of suffrage to women, said Hon. Elihu Root in an impassioned address to the New York State Constitutional Convention in 1894, because I believe that it would be a loss to women, to all women and to every woman; and because I believe it would be an injury to the state, and to every man and every woman in the state. It would be useless to argue this if the right of suffrage were a natural right. If it were a natural right, then women should have it though the heavens fall. But if there be any one thing settled in the long discussion of this subject, it is that suffrage is not a natural right, but is simply a means of government; and the sole question to be discussed is whether government by the suffrage of men and women will be better government than by the suffrage of men alone. The question is, therefore, a question of expediency, and the question of expediency upon this subject is not a question of tyranny, but a question of liberty, a question of the preservation of free constitutional government, of law, order, peace and prosperity.

Into my judgment there enters no element of the inferiority of woman. There could not, for I rejoice in the tradition and in the memory and the possession of a home where woman reigns with acknowledged superiority in all the nobler and the higher attributes that by common, universal consent, determine rank among the highest of the children of God. No, it is not that woman is inferior to man, but it is that woman is different from man; that in the distribution of powers, of capacities, of qualities, our

Maker has created man adapted to the performance of certain functions in the economy of nature and society, and women adapted to the performance of other functions.

One question to be determined in the discussion of this subject is whether the nature of woman is such that her taking upon her the performance of the functions implied in suffrage will leave her in the possession and the exercise of her highest powers or will be an abandonment of those powers and on entering upon a field in which, because of her differences from man, she is distinctly inferior. I have said that I thought suffrage would be a loss for women. I think so because suffrage implies not merely the casting of the ballot, the gentle and peaceful fall of the snowflake, but suffrage, if it means anything, means entering upon the field of political life, and politics is modified war. In politics there is struggle, strife contention, bitterness, heart-burning, excitement, agitation, everything which is adverse to the true character of woman. Woman rules to-day by the sweet and noble influences of her character. Put woman into the arena of conflict and she abandons these great weapons which control the world, and she takes into her hands, feeble and nerveless for strife, weapons with which she is unfamiliar and which she is unable to wield. Woman in strife becomes hard, harsh, unlovable, repulsive; as far removed from that gentle creature to whom we all owe allegiance, and to whom we confess submission, as the heaven is removed from the earth.

Government is protection. The whole science of government is the science of protecting life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness, of protecting our person, our property, our homes, our wives and our children, against foreign aggression, against civil dissension, against mobs and riots rearing their fearful heads within this peaceful land during the very sessions of this Convention. Against crime and disorder, and all the army of evil, civil society wages its war, and government is the method of protection, protection of us all. The trouble is not in the principles which underlie government. Men and women alike acknowledge them and would enforce them, honor and truth, and justice and liberty; the difficulty is to find out how to protect them. The difficulty is to frame the measure, to direct the battle, to tell where and how the blows are to be struck and when the defenses are to be erected.

In the divine distribution of powers the duty and the right of protection rests with the male. It is so throughout nature. It is so with men, and I, for one, will never consent to part with the divine right of protecting my wife, my daughter, the women whom I love and the women whom I respect, exercising the birthright of man, and place that high duty in the weak and nerveless hands of those designed by God to be protected rather than to engage in the stern warfare of government.

In my judgment this whole movement arises from a false conception of the duty and of the right of men and women both. We all of us see the pettiness of our lives. We all see how poor a thing is the best that we can do. We all at times long to share the fortunes of others, to leave our tiresome round

of duty and to engage in their affairs. What others may do seems to us nobler, more important, more conspicuous than the little things of our own lives. It is a great mistake, it is a fatal mistake that these excellent women make when they conceive that the functions of men are superior to theirs and seek to usurp them. The true government is in the family. The true throne is in the household. The highest exercise of power is that which forms the conscience, influences the will, controls the impulses of men, and there to-day woman is supreme and woman rules the world. The time will never come when this line of demarcation between the functions of the two sexes will be broken down. I believe it to be false philosophy; I believe that it is an attempt to turn backward upon the line of social development, and that if the step ever be taken, we go centuries backward on the march towards a higher, a nobler and a purer civilization, which must be found not in the confusion, but in the higher differentiation of the sexes.

But why do we discuss this subject? This Convention has already acted upon it. A committee, as fairly constituted as ever was committee, has acted upon it, a committee which had among its members four who were selected by the women who lead this movement, which had a much smaller number of gentlemen who were known to be opposed to it, the great body of which was composed of men whose ideas and feelings upon the subject were utterly unknown, has acted upon it, and reported to the Convention. The Convention has, by a unanimous vote, decided that it will not strike the word "male" from the Constitution. Now we are met by a proposition that instead of performing the duty

which we came here to perform, instead of exercising the warrant given to us by the people to revise and amend the Constitution, we shall have recourse in a weak and shuffling evasion, and then throw back upon the people the determination which they charged us to make in this Convention.

We are asked to do it. Why? to do it from good nature; to do it because it will please this lady and that lady, who have been importuning members about this hall for months; to do it, heaven

knows for how many reasons, but all reasons of good nature, of kindliness, of complaisance, opposed to the simple performance of the duty which we came here to discharge under the sanction of our oaths. I hope that this Convention will discharge the duty of determining who shall vote; discharge it with manliness and decision of character, which, after all, the women of America, God bless them, admire and respect more than anything else on this earth.

Imaginary Powers of the Intangible Vote

We quote the following, one of three Thanksgiving proclamations signed by women in the *New York Evening Sun* of November 24, 1914, as we believe it indicates that in the mental make-up of some suffragists logic is not the pre-eminent trait:

"The Jews thank Jehovah every day in their morning prayer for being born as men and not as women. On this Thanksgiving Day the American women should certainly offer thanks for being American and not European women. They may be grateful that their sons, husbands, brothers and fathers are not what our European men are to-day—a formidable host of murderers. They may be grateful not to be exposed to those unspeakable horrors which the women of Europe face in the belligerent countries; that they have not to experience the wholesale destruction of everything they value in life. And above all, they ought to offer thanks for having learned through the

terrible object lesson of Europe that their next and most urgent task is to get the right to take part in legislation, because it is sure that no war will ever be possible when the mothers of the race will have a voice in the fate of the nations."

Rosika Schwimmer.

The lady would have us believe, then, that legislation was responsible for the war! Also, that votes being responsible for all legislation, the votes of European men were for fighting, and that therefore if women have part in legislation "no war will ever be possible."

Still that hazy conception in the mind of the suffragist of the power a vote will accord! And once again we must beg for a reasonable proof that enfranchised women will vote in a herd for the common good.

Mrs. Blatch Wondered Where She Would Be

It was Mrs. Blatch (Harriet Stanton Blatch, daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton) who "jumped to her feet" when the women were talking with Governor-elect Whitman.

"Mr. Whitman," she said, "we have dealt with the legislative body, and we have it in training. We don't want to have to deal with another body. I don't believe the Constitutional Convention will

be favorable to suffrage. Conversations I have had with Senator Root and Mr. Barnes make me feel very doubtful. Moreover, if the 1915 Legislature adjourn without affirming the amendment passed by the 1914 Legislature, if it turns suffrage down, it will have a very disastrous effect upon suffrage all through the country. And if, then, the Constitutional Convention disappoints us, where will we be?"

Only Uncompromising Opposition Will Do

The only way is to be unalterably opposed to female suffrage in any form. Even the trifling and unobjectionable experiments with it (as for members of school boards, etc.,) have proved to be dismal failures. To propose it, as one and perhaps more have done, as an experiment covering five years, is timid and absurd, and illustrates perfectly how unfamiliar people here and there will sometimes be with the methods of our politics. It may be that California will have a referendum on the question of woman suffrage, and there the Antis would have a chance to carry the state against it. Even if this were to happen, the state would have had its woman suffrage trouble for its pains; that would be all. It is the part of good politics and certainly the part of statesmanship to be able to look into the future better than that. The evil, rather, must be prevented, not tolerated.

Another compromise proposition, proceeding from the well-intentioned as well as the timid, is a limited woman suffrage; that is, a suffrage limited to women who pass a kind of educational test. This, in the practical politics of our day, is equally absurd and impossible. A tremendously vigorous and widespread campaign covering many years has resulted in the passage of legislation by Congress proposing to restrict immigration by applying a literacy test. This has passed both Houses more than once, but Mr. Taft vetoed the bill and Mr. Wilson will veto the bill; so nearly impossible is it, no matter how numerous and determined the advocates of a restricted immigration may be to put

anything in the way, even remotely, of all the preliminaries to the extension of the suffrage to all. It is almost unthinkable that the men voters of the country and their public representatives, being in favor of unrestricted immigration (because opposed to anything that would restrict it), should ever be able to bring about, no matter how greatly they might desire to do so, a limitation upon man suffrage; how surely impossible would it be, then, to apply any educational qualification to women as a prerequisite to the duty of voting. We believe that some kind of civil service examination has been suggested for this. The woman suffragists would not submit to it. Their agitator-leaders are not agitating for anything of that sort. So clearly true is it that no matter how much it might be desired by many, even by a majority, to limit man suffrage, it is practically impossible to do it. The same would be true of woman suffrage.

And here, by the way, one of the unanswerable arguments against woman suffrage suggests itself. It is desired, as thousands of men and women know who are candid with themselves, to limit man suffrage by some educational test; the political strength of the literacy test proves that. But thus far the literacy test for immigrants has been impossible, and a restriction of the franchise is impossible; yet some well-meaning men and women advocate a free and full extension of it to all women. In other words, they would take a trying and even dangerous situation and multiply it at least by two, perhaps by three or ten.

The Case Against the Vote for Women

By F. G. R. Gordon

Horace Greeley used to say that while it was not true that every democrat was a horse thief, every horse thief was a democrat. And by the same token, while every woman suffragist is not a socialist, every socialist is a woman suffragist. The woman suffrage movement owes much to the enthusiasm and the organizing ability of the socialists. While this may not make them one in thought and action, they are about as near related as the two Irishmen.

The first one said his name was Pat McGinnis. About a mile down the road he met another Irishman, who told him that his name was Mike McGinnis. "Are you related," asked a man, "to Pat McGinnis?" Mike said, "Yes; I am distantly related; my father and mother had seventeen children. Pat was the first and I am the last." And the woman suffrage movement is more closely related to the socialist movement than Pat and Mike. It is related to the socialist movement because both seek to bring about political and economic equality between those who are naturally unequal. If there was a movement in this country which had for its object the supplanting of the midwife and nursemaid and mother for the care of children by the substituting of man, we would all agree that people who advocated such a change not only were crazy, but that they were trying to interfere with a natural law, making an effort to make man, by law, the equal of woman in a field where the latter is so superior to man that it is impossible to measure the distance.

The attempt to make woman the political equal of man cannot be accomplished by law. We know that, for it's been tried

in a number of states, and in parts of Australia and New Zealand, and elsewhere, and has failed. And so far as the effort to organize a woman suffrage alliance, that scheme will be impossible except by and through socialist control, because the woman suffrage movement with few exceptions throughout Europe is guided and controlled by the socialists. And like socialism, this movement is world-wide.

Every great movement ought to be considered from the standpoint of cold logic, but this, like most movements of the same general character, are propagated by emotional hysteria. What do the ladies want to vote for? One reason was that they paid taxes without representation; but this is no longer an argument, though it was the very best one I ever heard. But this suffrage movement has ten thousand reasons, more or less, for wishing for the vote. You know how a woman reasons when she begins to talk about marriage. She declares that she wouldn't marry the best man in creation—but I notice that we are still building school houses. One woman suffragist says that with the vote there will be cleaner politics, because woman has a cleaner mind. I suppose they have a cleaner mind because they change it so often. Another tells us that with the right to vote war will be abolished. If you believe that, you ought to attend just one annual convention of the D. A. R. or any other body of women who have been organized long enough to get clothed in their fighting clothes. Another says that they ought to vote because the birth rate is larger in Idaho than it is in some states where only men vote. Women are largely on the side of temperance, and

so they tell us that with the vote they will wipe the saloon "off the face of the earth." But no thoughtful or intelligent citizen believes this; indeed, the suffragists don't believe it themselves, for they as well as the rest of us know that wherever woman suffrage prevails, there you will find the saloon and all the other evils.

But, cry the suffragists, we need the vote to protect us in the factory, shop and home. When I was fifteen years of age I worked in a cotton mill in New Hampshire. We had a work-day of eleven hours. Three years later I was a member of the Knights of Labor, and we were fighting to place upon the statute books of that state the first short-hour legislation. The real opposition to that bill came from the women. They signed petitions a mile long protesting against any legislation for their benefit, and they have done this all over New England. Consider what the men have done for the protection of women and children in Massachusetts, almost all of it, too, without the slightest aid from the women. My good old mother went into the cotton mills of Lowell when she was only fifteen. She was a weaver for many years. In 1855-60 she worked twelve hours a day. At that time weavers received from \$2.50 to \$3 a week, and they paid \$1.25 a week for board. To-day the weavers in Lowell make an average of \$11 a week, and pay \$3 a week for board. My mother was a good weaver, but after paying her board she had left for a week's work of 70 hours, only \$1.25 to \$1.75. As against that long-hour work-day the operatives now work 54 hours a week, and the weaver, after paying his board, has \$8 left in place of only \$1.50. And in that same city of Lowell, with only a little over 100,000 population, there is more money in the savings banks belonging to

the working class than there is in the four states of Idaho, Wyoming, Utah and Colorado combined, and they have had woman suffrage in those four states for many years. From every standpoint the men have done more for the women in Massachusetts than they have done for themselves in any state where suffrage prevails.

Woman suffragists want equal pay for equal work. That sounds fine, but there is no such thing as equal work in the sense in which they state it. If you try to make this work by statute law, you will simply drive a vast army of females out of work, for men will be hired to take their places. As for political corruption, we all know there is as much in such states as Colorado, Idaho, Wyoming, and in both New Zealand and Australia as anywhere—and perhaps more. They tell us that woman suffrage will add a great body of intelligent voters to the electorate. Will it? It would increase the number of emotional, ignorant voters by 300 per cent and tremendously increase the cost of government. Woman suffrage and the socialist movement of New Zealand and Australia have been responsible for nine-tenths of the wild legislation in those countries that has made them the champion debt-ridden states of the world. The public debt of New Zealand to-day is equal to \$1,800 for every family living in that country, and Australia is almost as bad, for the debt there is over \$1,500 for every family. Not only do they have the greatest debts in the world, but also the largest expenses for government. State and national expenditures in Australia are \$250,851,000 a year, and in New Zealand, with only a little over 1,000,000 population, the annual expenditures are almost \$70,000,000. Massachusetts has three and a half times the population of New Zealand, and we spent last

year less than nine million dollars for our state government. Or, to put it in another way, New Zealand with her woman suffrage and her socialistic legislation spends seven and a half times as much as Massachusetts for her state government, and measured by population New Zealand spends twenty times as much for government as the expensive state of Massachusetts. And in this respect Australia is ten times worse off than our worst state.

And let me call your attention to the growing cost of government in this country. Last year 184 cities raised for local government expenses more than \$800,000,000. The expenses of our National government is above \$1,000,000,000 a year. If to this we add the state and county expenses, together with the expenses of towns, etc., we have a cost that foots up all of \$15 a year per person as the cost of government; and in the cities it is very much larger. This enormous cost, due to the activity of the political medicine men and women with their cure-all remedies, is mounting higher and higher all the time. With woman suffrage it would reach the sky. And don't think, Mr. Working Man, that you don't have to pay for all this. The cost comes out of every pound of steak, every rent, every suit of clothes; you help to pay for this every time you attend the picture show. There is more money in the savings banks of the city of Boston than in all of Australasia combined. This woman suffrage business, in Australasia, in Colorado, or anywhere else, has done absolutely nothing for either women or men except to produce crazy legislation. It is a remarkable thing, but every ism under the sun has a cure-all for the ills which afflict society.

Most women don't want to vote, we say. And the suffragists answer, "Well,

let those who do want to vote have it; those who do not wish to vote can stay at home." The answer to that is that 2,000,000 women would be obliged to stay at home anyhow. There are 2,000,000 women in this country with infant children each year. A second answer is that those who do want to vote and would vote are the socialists and other radicals, and the conservative elements in society would be forced to vote their women in order to protect their property rights and their personal liberty itself. The glittering dream offered by the socialists would naturally appeal to the women, and with suffrage in all states the socialist vote in the next election would go to 3,000,000.

The fact that for many years the women have had the right to vote on school questions in many states, and the further fact that less than five per cent of them do so, is clear proof that the franchise doesn't appeal to them. If there is one thing that the ladies ought to be greatly interested in it is the schools. But in New England (an intelligent part of this country surely), a section that enjoys the highest standard of living, we find less than five per cent of the women taking the trouble to register, and of those that do register only half vote. In my city of Haverhill there are 14,477 women entitled to vote. In 1912 only 453 registered and only 105 voted. Yet there was a contest on for the school committee with a woman candidate. We elected her this year, but the ladies aided—they tried to defeat her!

That a large majority of the suffragists of this country are in full sympathy with that wild form of suffragism common in England cannot be doubted. When the leader of those criminals came to America most of our suffragists almost lost their senses because there was some doubt as to whether or not this female anarchist

would be admitted. You will note that when the Immigration Department refused to land John Turner, the well known London anarchist, the suffrage organizations didn't protest. They were not interested in any personal liberty problem so far as Turner was concerned. But when a socialist suffragist of the Pankhurst type came knocking at the door these medicine women went into hysterics, and there was weeping and wailing and talking and making faces, and resolving and threatening; and when she was admitted, they sought to give her as much of our cash as possible in order that a few more buildings might be destroyed, a few more public men horse-whipped, more innocent people made unhappy by the destruction of the mails, and perhaps the destruction of human lives. Did you ever hear any protest by these would-be woman voters against that propaganda of crime of the woman suffragists of England?

Until the woman suffragists of this country show sense enough and decency enough publicly to condemn those criminals, they are unfit to have a vote even for school committeeman. Any organized set of human beings that will stand for the criminal insanity common in England is too ignorant or too criminal to be intrusted with the franchise. Ever since the days of the Garden of Eden this kind of woman has been ambitious to get everything for nothing, and both here and in other parts of the world this kind of a woman wants to vote because, deep down in her heart, she thinks that the vote will in some way give her more of other people's services.

In every crisis of the world man has proved his immense superiority over woman in all that pertains to government. The moral ideal of woman is personal and domestic, and it is because of this that

she has failed to make her mark in the politics of Australasia with her ballot. Woman is more intolerant, more superstitious, more fanatical than man—and the Lord knows that we are bad enough! All thoughtful and honest men in the suffrage states realize all this, and are thoroughly disgusted with suffrage.

Take the suffrage campaign in England for another illustration. You would never find a body of men going about destroying the property of non-combatants merely because some Congressman didn't happen to vote the way your wife or daughter wished.

In the trade union movement, in the church, in the suffrage states, anywhere and everywhere, women are unable logically to present their cause except from the personal side, and thus it is that the suffragists can't see anything immoral in the attempt to destroy property or personal liberty where their own pet schemes are concerned. In this respect they are like the I. W. W.s, the anarchists and the socialists. The militants in England go out and burn a public building or a private residence; they get arrested, and your suffragists everywhere protest, not against the crime which these mad people committed, but against the authority which seeks to maintain law and order. And here again they are like the red flag gangs.

If we are to have equality in this voting business, then the colored women of the South must have the vote. The socialists, who are the strongest factor in the suffrage cause, believe in the "solidarity of the race," social, political and economic. Industrial equality cannot exist without social equality. Give the ballot to the colored women, give her industrial equality, and she will win social equality! The Almighty created five distinct races; the attempt by men and women to merge

these races into one would, if successful, destroy civilization itself. "Solidarity of the race" means the whole race—black, brown, yellow, red and white.

It seems to me that Morrison I. Swift hits the nail squarely on the head when he says that the suffragist who is not also a socialist and a feminist will aid very little, if at all, in the emancipation of women. He tells us that the mere ballot is of no more value than a surgical instrument in the hands of a person ignorant of its use, and he further states that all intelligent suffragists are feminists. He says that any woman suffragist, unless she is a feminist, is simply a woman developed man-fashion, and that such a woman is an unmitigated monstrosity. Swift declares that the real woman suffragist will insist that she can live her life without becoming the "married appendix of a man." He is very frank about this. He tells us that free love is the thing that must come with the revolution for woman suffrage and socialism. He appeals for the abolition of the marriage institution.

The woman suffrage movement of the old world is largely allied with socialism. In England its tactics are those of the I. W. W. It is a suffrage sabotage

movement, and these radical movements are not combatted, either here or elsewhere. The movement is one of destruction. It seeks to tear down because it doesn't know how to build up. Once it obtains power it will join with the Socialist movement for more and more government. The whole tendency of the suffrage movement in this country, in Europe and in Australasia is to "let the state do it." That is the program. But the state never does anything well. The state is always destructive of liberty. Under the blighting influence of the barbarian socialism of ancient Peru it took but a handful of Spaniards to conquer a nation of 30,000,000. Rome destroyed itself because of its state socialism. If you want paternalism run mad, then give the women a chance with the ballot and you will have it. If you want to destroy personal liberty you can tremendously aid it by giving the vote to women. When Rome was at its strongest it was the beginning of the end. When she was converting a Rome of brick and mortar into a Rome of marble; when her victorious legions were adding territory on every hand, when the paternalistic state was becoming more and more important, then Rome went down into the Dark Ages, not to emerge again for a thousand years.

Best Bibs and Tuckers, yet Bitterness

It cannot be denied that woman suffrage is a great success as a fashion show in Chicago, and perhaps throughout the West. The *Chicago Examiner* (Hearst) had the following headlines over a suffrage "story" recently:

"MRS. TROUT WINS OVER REBELLIOUS SUFFRAGISTS.

"MRS. McCORMICK HOLDS IRREGULAR MEETING, WHERE SHE IS HISSED BY FOLLOWERS OF STATE ASSOCIATION LEADER.

"BITTERNESS AND PROMISE

OF BOLT MARK CLOSING DAY OF THE MOST STORMY GATHERING IN HISTORY OF ILLINOIS WOMEN VOTERS."

Then follows: Gowns on display! Suffragists wars can be carried on in their best bib and tucker. Display of fine materials, embroideries and hats. Mrs. W. A. Boland in a dainty creation of gray satin with a bodice of gray chiffon, hand embroidered in colors. She wore a picture hat, etc.

How to Do It When You Don't Care What You Do

THE REPLY prints the following in order that its readers may not be tempted to be guided by anything of the kind. It is all from a circular issued by the suffragists. It tells the hiker how to start the music:

Suggestions for Outdoor Meetings

1. See that you have headquarters at every Chautauqua and fair.
2. Get your speakers on all the public programs.
3. If you can have a headquarters tent large enough, have daily meeting there.
4. Interview all public speakers and get them to put in a word for suffrage in every speech.
5. Where you have a suffrage speaker on any program, work hard and advertise for a good attendance.
6. When you are to have a good speaker, organize auto parades to call the attention of the public.
7. See that you have good music for all meetings. The suffrage songs are easy, and extra copies will be sent from headquarters.
8. Be sure to attend to decorations at all headquarters and for all meetings. Use the U. S. flag everywhere.
9. Have literature and badges at every place.
10. When you have several speakers on a program, urge them to be brief, and each of them to cover particular branches of the subject.
11. If you have no local organization form one at your first meeting. That will put some one officially in charge of the next meeting.
12. If you are to have auto campaigners at your place, organize to go out and meet them. Have some of your people go with them in autos to the next meeting place.

Pointers for Auto Tours

1. See all friendly people who own autos, and get their help. Distribute your requests, and do not overwork a few.
2. Have two or more machines in each tour, and be sure that they are nicely decorated.
3. Have good singers along, and a cornet or other instrument to help in the music.
4. Get your tourists to start on time, and make the trip together. It is not effective to come into a town scattered out.
5. Have your friends in a town organize so as to meet you as an escort at the edge of town.
6. Go into a town in good style, with music and singing, and do not delay a moment on arrival in starting the music. It starts the enthusiasm best that way.
7. Have your arrangements for the introduction of speakers, so there will be no delay—and have ginger put into the introductory remarks.
8. Sing a verse after each speech, and sing with spirit.
9. While the songs are being sung have workers go about in the crowd distributing literature and songs.
10. Make the speeches short. Get local people to express their sentiments publicly. Be on time in leaving for the next place.
11. Before leaving home, organize for picnic lunches in the evening. Ask the people of the towns to be ready to join with you in the picnics.

Miss Margaret Foley's Hundreds of Proposals

Here is more news of Miss Margaret Foley, the suffragist "with the punch," who claims the credit of having "put it over" in Nevada, with the aid, it is true, of "rough and drunken miners." It occurs in other accounts of her campaign published in Eastern papers, which mention that she "danced at more than fifty dances, met personally practically every one of the 22,000 registered voters of the

State, rejected hundreds of proposals from ranchmen and miners."

The *Nevada State Journal*, which stood for suffrage before the election, comments as follows:

"The above is a sample of the wild-west laudation given out by Miss Foley after her return to the helpless people of Boston. The *Journal* offers \$10 for evidence that any Nevada man ever proposed to Miss Foley, and will subscribe to a fund to put him in the asylum where he belongs."

Important! Let them be Unfair and Reckless

THE REPLY wishes in all seriousness to warn its readers against the danger of discouraging the more active of the women suffragist leaders from pursuing the tactics, which so many of them have adopted, of unfairness and of a general recklessness of statement and behavior.

For illustration: The violent attack upon Mayor Blankenburg, of Philadelphia, by Mrs. J. D. Thomas, president of the Woman Suffrage Society, of Philadelphia County, has certainly brought her the publicity so ardently desired by suffragists, but it is generally conceded even by suffragists that she made a grave blunder when she demanded in a paper couched in insulting terms that he and the other city representatives either do something to help the unemployed or resign. The petition, as well as the manner of its presentation, has aroused such a storm of protest in the city that resignations are being daily noted from the suffrage organizations.

The Rev. Edwin Heyl Delk, pastor of St. Mathew's Evangelical Lutheran Church, characterizes the paper as "a most uncalled for and unreasonable indictment of Mr. Blankenburg and his cabinet."

"Such performances," he said, "certainly shake a man's faith in the ability of women to exercise calm judgment."

At the pure food fair just closed in Boston the suffragists and anti-suffragists each had a booth where they gave away literature, invited signatures and explained their cause. The suffragists, unwilling that their opponents should have an equally good chance with themselves, stationed themselves at the anti-suffrage booth to interfere in the work of their opponents, contradict their assertions and

obstruct them generally. After one violent harangue by a suffragist in front of the anti booth 20 bystanders signed anti-suffrage cards.

In the suffrage campaign in the western states the suffragists made many insulting attacks from platform and press upon the women opposing them. Rev. Anna Shaw was severely criticised in North Dakota for such methods. A newspaper in Montana made a particularly virulent attack upon Mrs. Oliphant, an anti-suffrage speaker from New Jersey, accusing her of being a supporter of the whiskey interests and a partner of procurers. The Rochester *Herald* comments on this as follows:

"That the propaganda (suffrage) has been debasing in its influence we have had evidence in more than one direction. With men alone in politics we have enough of vilification and the impugning of motive. A woman's reputation is something that has always been held rather dear among our people and smirching it has been accompanied with considerable peril. If political activity is going to expose the sex to aspersions of this sort, the franchise will have been gained at considerable cost. It is not worth the price."

The Reno *Evening Gazette*, commenting on this attack on Mrs. Oliphant, recalls the similar attack made on Miss Bronson by the *Woman's Journal* last spring, when Miss Bronson was accused of having appeared at a hearing in New Jersey in behalf of the liquor dealers. Undeniable proof was brought forward that not only had Miss Bronson not appeared at that hearing but that no woman had appeared. The *Gazette* adds:

"The public is coming to a very clear understanding of the motive behind these attacks. If the women who are opposed to this propaganda can be driven into qui-

escence by the fear of slander and ungracious comment, if they can be restrained from open expression of their convictions, an end will have been achieved."

Mrs. C. W. Kayser, of Wheaton, Ill., has resigned her chairmanship in the Equal Suffrage Association and has retired from the cause entirely.

"Men have been bad in politics," she said in leaving, "but the way women are

going is worse. I want to get away from suffrage; I want to forget it. I have found that the women in suffrage and politics for themselves alone are generally in the ascendancy. The best element among the suffragists are hampered and insulted and mistreated by women who expect some day to land a big political plum."

Must Reckon with the Men, He Says

Editor THE REPLY:

I want to congratulate you on your latest number, and to thank you for it. Especially do myself and my friends to whom I have shown this issue (we are all men, or males) like the vigor with which you treat the anti-suffrage subject. It is all right for the ladies to be ladylike, but this question of extending the suffrage to women does, after all, concern the men, and my understanding is that it will be the votes of the men that will settle it.

You will find that for every suffrage agitator who influences a man to be for woman suffrage to the extent of contributing money now or voting for it later, there are ten women who are influencing men to oppose it, not, perhaps, by contributing money, for that is not so easy as with the "angels" of the suffrage cause, but by arguing and proselyting

against it just the same, and by voting against it when the proper time arrives; and that there are ten men also, to one of the other kind, who are against it and who instinctively insist that this would be a duty and a burden which they, to say nothing of their men friends who have wives and sisters and daughters, will not put upon women generally and will not permit to be put upon women generally.

If you believe that these men deserve to be roused, as you are trying to do it, and that they feel a deep concern over the matter and are determined to be reckoned with, you are absolutely right. Keep up the good work in exactly the way you are doing it. Handle them without gloves!

Utica, Dec. 10, 1914.

E. E. F.

Suffrage and a Sad Sextette

The *Gotham Gazette*, which Franklin P. Adams conducts, and makes by far the ablest and most patriotic edition of the *New York Tribune*, has a musical critic who recklessly pokes fun at the suffragists and may yet be discharged. He says in a recent issue:

"Judging by this 'Lucia Sextette' opera that they are giving up at the Cent. O. House for their last wk. of metr'pol'tan activ'ty, this G. Donizetti must be the most down on woman's suffrage opera-writer that ever lived for of all the abused, man-bullied, shamefully maltreated females this poor little Scotch-Italian lady with the shaky voice

is about the worst ever say we, not only being not allowed to fall in love with the man she would ought to have fallen in love with (and many another woman has done the same thing on that very stage, he being the handsome hearthrobber Orville Harrold), but even being forced by her cruel relation to marry a man she did not even hardly know, which seems to us quite enough excuse for her to do as she did, and kill her husband without further ceremony even though he was not particularly to blame, poor wretch, but if more women acted quick and decisive like that maybe they would have had the vote before this, is our opinion."

Poor Colorado; the Truth About It by Those Who Know

It is good, when much misrepresentation and not a little downright lying in reference to the woman suffrage question fill the defenseless air, to recall certain of the facts in reference to Colorado, to which, it is true, the suffragists do not point with pride as much as formerly, though citing it nevertheless as the likeliest realization of their dreams. On the contrary, it is a night-mare. Read on—and then on further:

The suffragists are constantly asserting that Colorado has the best child labor laws in the country. In Colorado a girl of ten and a boy of any age can carry on street trades—the most demoralizing of occupations for children. The *Survey* criticized this law very severely and stated that even in wicked New York a girl must be 16 before she is allowed to trade on the streets.

The Nevada Association of Women Opposed to Equal Suffrage, handing in at the White House a protest against any action by the President that would give encouragement to the "votes for women" propaganda in that state, referred to Colorado thus:

"In Colorado, the only state where time, population and general conditions have afforded a test, we find, after 20 years, a disappointment for every promise. In lieu of government we find anarchy; in lieu of order, chaos; in lieu of home rule, Federal control; in lieu of economy in government, the highest per capita tax rate of any state. We find, with but two exceptions, its capital and principal city with the highest per capita expense of those in its class. In lieu of improved domestic conditions we find but two states in 48 with a higher divorce rate; we find the social evil aggravated, not abated."

Hear Judge Ben B. Lindsey:

"No, I can't say that the women's vote has helped things much in Colorado. I have found that women in politics are no better and no worse than men. Don't forget that when a question narrows itself down to a headline, to selfish interests, both sexes follow the same line of action—they look out for No. 1! If a woman wants a political job, she'll stand for iniquity; if she is afraid of losing her job, she'll do the same thing. If anyone believes that woman suffrage is a panacea for (all) the evils of our political life, he does not know what those evils are. The women are as free of the power of the Beast as men are and no freer."

A statement of Mrs. Francis W. Goddard, president of the Colonial Dames of Colorado and wife of Chief Justice Goddard, is very interesting:

"I have voted since 1893. I have been a delegate to the city and state conventions and a member of the republican state committee from my county; I have been a deputy sheriff and a watcher at the polls; for twenty-three years I have been in the midst of woman suffrage and have worked day in and day out for it; now I see my mistake and would abolish it to-morrow if I could.

"No law has been put on the statute book of Colorado for the benefit of women and children that has been put there by the woman's vote. The hours of working women have not been shortened; the wages of school teachers have not been raised; the type of men that get into office has not improved a bit.

"As for the effect of the vote on women personally, I have known scores of women who worked for the republican party one year and worked for the democratic party the next year, telling me

frankly, 'the democrats gave us more money.'

"Frankly, the experiment is a failure. It has done Colorado no good; it has done women no good. The best thing for both would be if to-morrow the ballot for women would be abolished."

Judge Moses Hallett, who was judge of the United States circuit court twenty-seven years, and previously chief justice of the supreme court of Colorado, stated not long ago in the *Denver Republican*:

"There is a growing tendency on the part of most of the better and more intelligent female voters of Colorado to cease exercising the ballot. They still go to the polls, but need to be urged by some of their male relatives. I do not believe there will be any abrogation of the suffrage rights of women of our state, for the reason that no man who aspires to office would risk their displeasure by advocating the repeal of the law. At the same time, if it were to be done over again, the people of Colorado would defeat woman suffrage by an overwhelming majority."

In Colorado all the four women sitting in the legislature of 1910-1911 actually voted for a most vile race-track gambling bill, by their votes and example greatly aiding its passage. Governor Shafroth promptly vetoed the bill and administered this seathing rebuke to the women in his veto message:

"If this bill becomes a law, the finger of scorn and ridicule would ever after be pointed at the influence of woman's franchise in state affairs."

The facts as to the social evil in Denver are vouched for by Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, national president of the Florence Crittendon Homes for Wayward Girls.

"In all the seventy-eight Florence Crittendon homes in the United States, I never

saw such a collection of girls of the better class as are in the Denver home."

Very interesting and significant is the following editorial article from the *Reno (Nevada) Gazette*:

"Mrs. Wenonah Pinkham of Colorado is campaigning in Massachusetts in behalf of Woman Suffrage. Here is one of her statements:

'Nevada is a state without woman suffrage, surrounded by states where women have the vote, consequently in Nevada vice is rampant, having been driven from the other states by the women and taking refuge under the protection of the man-governed state.'

"The *Gazette* has not the honor of Mrs. Pinkham's acquaintance, but it enjoys and honors the acquaintance of many women who have come to Nevada from Colorado. These women are homemakers, not politicians. They have contributed to the morals and not to the vice of the state. They are of the type that Nevada welcomes and honors. They brought neither vice nor anarchy to Nevada, and they found less than left behind. They are not pleading for woman suffrage in Nevada.

"Their experience in Colorado was sufficient. They saw it at work. Instead of commenting it they are warning the state against it. Many of them, among the best women of the land, are organized to oppose it, several are leaders in the organization. If woman suffrage in Nevada were left to those women of Nevada who came from Colorado the proposed amendment would be defeated 5 to 1.

"The *Gazette* recently printed from Denver the story of "The Rise of the Female Demagogue." Mrs. Pinkham seems to justify the story. Presumably she has special reference to the so-called 'social evil.' If so, her first duty is to clean up Denver or expunge the police and court records of that city. She

might then with profit to society put in a little time at a few other points in the state, and then pass on to Bisbee, Clifton and Tucson, Arizona. She might then pass on to Taft and Bakersfield, California, and spend a few hours, at least, in redeeming Los Angeles from the Bixby record and Sacramento and San Francisco from the Diggs-Caminetti blotch. If the morals of Utah and Idaho have been reformed by the women in politics, either morally, socially or materially, evidence of the glorious achievement is not of record and those states are lax in their publicity work. Visitors and tourists are misled. We have yet to find one convinced.

"Nevada has received from Colorado many who could well have been spared. The records of a certain institution at

Carson maintained for the detention of certain undesirables are eloquent on this point. While these undesirables didn't wear skirts every one of them, living today and at liberty, is trying to drag woman into politics.

"The I. W. W.'s who infested Southern Nevada, who made necessary the only visit of the United States troops in the history of the state and whose activities led to the organization of the state police, were largely from Colorado. The others were from Idaho, another state where women were long ago 'emancipated.' Mrs. Pinkham and her 'fellow statesmen' had previously been afforded 14 years in Colorado and 11 years in Idaho to make their states so attractive that these people would stay at home and obey the law."

Miss Freeman and a Few Absurdities

Editor THE REPLY:

I have been spending all the morning reading THE REPLY and think it splendid—especially do I enjoy the short hits about "Rev." Shaw.

My husband and I dropped in at a suffrage meeting at the Greenwich avenue public school the other evening and heard Miss Elizabeth Freeman, English militant, speak on the war. She took the stand that men are selfish in everything, and she said it was abominably selfish of them to go to war, which was for "glory" and the honor of their country, which seemed a cause for much disgust to her. She argued that in selfishly going away the man was leaving his wife to protect the home, which was generally destroyed; of course, his

duty was to stay at home and protect it—not to go out and protect it!

She made the amazing statement that 6,000 women had died for England (within the year, or since the beginning of war) in child birth, when any doctor will tell you that it is a rare thing in these days for a woman under the care of a physician to die in those circumstances.

When she started to read her suggestions to end the war (after having stated that had women had a voice in government probably the war would have been prevented) we left, as it became tiresome. The meeting was very scanty, only about 30 people; not half the seats were occupied.

E. G. H.

"Marry a busy man," advises Helen Rowland. The Rochester *Post-Express* replies that it can't be done legally; all the busy men are married, and that is what makes them busy.

Miss Fritzi Scheff's wardrobe, all but the last little article of her apparel, was recently attached in St. Louis on the suit of a costumer.

Votes for women!

Replies from People with Views of Their Own

THE REPLY believes in devoting all of the requisite space in each issue to the publication not only of letters addressed to the editor direct but of letters published in the daily papers. It means much when the movement in opposition to female suffrage, having no press agency, no publicity bureau, no organized highly financed means of making a business of propagating "the faith," finds so many friends who take the trouble to express themselves by these means; which is to say that the letters (which come to us and which appear so numerous and so convincingly in the daily papers and elsewhere) come from the heart.

"Why," writes Maude Littlefield Bailard to the *Sun*, "will not an American woman see that she can acquire anything she wants if she will stop wasting her time clamoring for the vote and bend her efforts in getting the thing she most desires, be it civic betterment or more equitable laws?"

"Through the medium of municipal leagues women can carry on every branch of civic improvement; they can organize child welfare leagues that will control the child labor question in their individual towns; they are now eligible to act on educational boards, their work for the poor and weak is not dependent in any way on the right to vote—there is no limit to their scope of influence or ability to get into close touch with the vital questions of relief work and public good, if they honestly desire the real and not the chaff of political rights.

"The American woman has all the fine qualities of her sex—except one. She is mentally indolent. She dislikes the mental effort of thinking things out for her-

self. It is much easier to accept some one else's ready made opinions. It is here that the suffrage agitators have gained.

"A few notoriety seeking female public school teachers," writes Albert R. Gallatin, "are claiming leave of absence on account of the disability incident to bringing a child into the world, and we hear a lot of slushy nonsense about the sacredness of motherhood,' 'duty to the state,' etc.

"Motherhood is the performance of a natural function, and countless myriads of other created beings are doing the same thing without any fuss or attempts at personal advertisement. The outrageous vanity involved in the assumption that childbirth is a public duty and benefit would be sad if it were not ludicrous.

"Men have been severely criticised for taking public positions and not giving all their time to the state; by what superior right does a woman take a public office and then engage in the private enterprise of child bearing?"

"Woman is by natural constitution and function unfitted to compete economically with man on equal terms, and when she tries to equalize matters by claiming special privileges she lowers herself in the opinion of all thinking people, and her natural sphere of useful activity is thereby diminished.

"Feminism is the curse of civilization, and its spread is usually a sign of decadence. The world war is a fearful thing, but as a result of it we may expect a worldwide decline in feminism, activity of the suffragettes and a recrudescence of the more primitive and homely virtues."

Suffragism, Feminism and Free Love

The feminists propose to keep up with the Socialists, or get ahead of them a little, in attaching themselves to the woman suffrage cause, and even in making themselves, wherever possible, the leaders of it. This has disturbed many woman suffrage leaders, but evidently they cannot prevent the fact from frequently recurring—or, indeed, from being a continuous performance.

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage received inquiries as to the real meaning of feminism, and replied by quoting certain feminists themselves.

Edna A. Kent, a noted suffragist and feminist, has declared:

"Nothing invented of man has ever had a more stultifying effect on the character and morals of women and of men than the Christian ideal which St. Patrick laid down for women."

Jane Olcott, former secretary of the New York State Suffrage Association, said in a newspaper interview:

"A man or a woman should be free to give love whenever it is natural. Love is volatile, and when it goes I believe it is unmoral for man and wife even to appear to live together except for the sake of their children. In that case each should be free to bestow love elsewhere by mutual agreement."

Marie Jenney Howe, woman suffragist and feminist, has given this as an article of her belief:

"We are sick of being specialized to sex; we do not put any fence around man. And we merely want to take down the fence that has been put around us."

Mrs. Florence Wise, secretary of the Women's Trade Union League of New York and a speaker on feminism, has contributed this:

"I believe only in voluntary motherhood,

anyway. There are many persons, men as well as women, who are better off without children. Many unmarried women, on the other hand, want children, and there ought to be an opportunity for the expression of their innate mother love."

Inez Milholland Boissevain, who has adorned many suffrage parades, said soon after her marriage, according to newspaper reports:

"Wedding rings are relics of barbarism. They are relics of the day when women were men's chattels. I should feel like a slave instead of a free woman if I were to wear a wedding ring."

Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, member of the Congressional Union, has shed this light on feminism:

"Human beings believe their duty is far outside of merely being mothers; even a kitten could be a mother."

In discussing all the ideals and phases of feminism some of its advocates supply a touch of humor. Dr. Annie Yates in a suffrage meeting in Cincinnati expressed her delight because of the alleged discovery of a scientist who claimed ability to determine the law of sex.

"When this becomes generally known," she asserted, "women can bear only girl babies."

R. A. Lawrence, of Plainfield, N. J., had the following in a recent issue of the *New York Sun*:

Dora Marsden, A. B., in a pamphlet reprinted by the National American Suffrage Association from the *Freewoman*, the best known feminist organ in England, says:

"The freewoman must produce within herself strength sufficient to provide for herself and for those of whom nature has made her the natural guardian, her children. . . . She must be in a position to bear children if she wants them without

soliciting maintenance from any man, whoever he may be."

Another writer in the *Freewoman* says:

"For many reasons it may be argued that it is expedient for a couple to marry if they have children, but none of them worth discussion has an ethical basis."

The same writer further on states that "the whole edifice of life marriage will at last fall to the ground." (*The Freewoman*, vol. I., p. 153 et seq.)

Frau Rosa Mayreder, the well-known German feminist, believes that woman is most unjustly hampered in her progress toward equality with man by the "drag chain of maternity." The most favorably placed woman, she says, "pays as the price of maternity nothing less than spiritual freedom, and the farther humanity advances toward higher forms just so much must the female sex, for the sake of motherhood, remain behind." ("A Survey of the Woman Problem," by Rosa Mayreder.)

Mrs. Walter M. Gallechan in the *English Review* for September, 1913, says:

"Under present economic conditions and the prejudice of social opinion the penalties which women have to pay for any sexual relationship outside of marriage is too heavy. . . . I believe if there were some open recognition of these partnerships outside of marriage, not necessarily permanent, with proper provision for the woman and her children, should there be any, not dependent on the generosity of the man and made after the love which sanctioned the union had waned, but in the form of a contract before the relationship was entered upon, there would be many women ready to undertake such unions gladly; there would even be some women as well as some men who would prefer them to the present marriage system that binds them permanently for life."

In an article in the December *Atlantic* W. L. George, the well-known writer on feminism, says that "suffrage is but part of the greater propaganda of feminism;

. . . the ultimate aim of feminism with regard to marriage is the practical suppression of marriage and the institution of free alliance. It may be that thus only can woman develop her own personality."

A suffragist signing herself "A Girton Girl" wrote recently to an English periodical:

"When all bachelor women and widows have the Parliamentary vote and the right to assist in the making of the nation's laws, one of its first influences will be to remove and destroy the artificial and arbitrary standard of monogamy and to establish polygamy as the legal and proper right and custom of an advanced people."

At a suffrage meeting in London one speaker stated that they did not ask greater sex restriction for men; what they did ask for was a like freedom for themselves. (Reported in the London *Daily Mail*.)

Miss Inez Milholland (ardent suffragist and believer in feminism, of which she says suffrage is only the "immediate political aspect") says that a large part of the suffragists are women of the old types, bred to another standard and naturally conservative, "but it will certainly not be long before the steady influx to the voting ranks of these millions of younger women whose impressions are being formed in the more alert, stirring air of to-day will bring the real issues more sharply before us, and it is to be assumed that the institutions most likely to be changed are the institutions in which the sex as a sex is most peculiarly and vitally interested; namely, the home and marriage itself."

Winifred Harper Cooley says the older women have not kept up with the times—that to them the vote is a fetich which they want merely to prove their equality with man and to "demonstrate democracy," but that the younger women consider the vote the merest tool, a means to

an end, that end being a complete social evolution. The older women are frightened, she says, lest the old unjust terms of opprobrium, "free love" "destruction of the family," etc., will injure the cause of suffrage, but she asks us to remember that the radicalism of to-day is the conservatism of to-morrow, and proceeds to set forth the beliefs of the younger suffragists. They believe that the day is rapidly approaching when "to be supported by a man in return for sexual privileges or mere general housekeeping or motherhood will be morally revolting to every self-respecting wife." They also demand a single standard of morality, but she hastens to add that this is not to be interpreted arbitrarily as meaning either a strictly puritanical standard or an objec-

tionably loose one. The conservative women reformers think men should be hauled up to the standard which has always been set for women, but the other branch, claiming to have a broader knowledge of human nature, asserts that it is impossible and perhaps undesirable to expect asceticism from all men and women. The majority of women, she explains, have been constrained to a monogamous existence, but monogamy has never existed among men, except in very rare cases!

Miss Fola La Follette was quoted in a New York paper some time ago as saying, "Whether a woman is married or single, has children or not, is her business and nobody else's."

FREE, BY A FEMINIST

The following is from Norman Hapgood, suffragist and feminist (and editor of *Harpers' Weekly*, while it is still coming out):

"The efforts of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage to defeat the Democratic candidates seem to have been either ineffective or to have caused a disastrous reaction. On the other hand, the 18 Senators and Representatives who were blacklisted by the national association were all re-elected, except Senator Root, who retired before he was put upon the list. That seems also to have been futile. Would it not be a better policy to make as many friends for the cause of equal suffrage as possible rather than to manufacture enemies in the effort to punish either individual opponents or a political party?"

The legislators from Albany County have told the suffrage lobbyists that they are not opposed to having the suffrage question go to the people (and nobody is), although they do not believe in the principle of woman suffrage. Good for the legislators of Albany County!

MUST OVERCOME DOUBLE OBSTACLES

"The quickened interest of women in matters of general concern," says the *Journal of Nursing*, "is not by any means confined to the states where suffrage has been granted. On the contrary, it would seem that the aroused interest of intelligent women in such questions as public sanitation, housing reform, regulation of child labor and other topics of social, industrial and moral concern, is even more effective in some communities that have not conferred political rights than in others where women possess full power. This is because the efforts of intelligent women, in the case of full enfranchisement, have to overcome the double obstacles afforded by the mass of unintelligent men and the equal mass of unintelligent women."

Remember that The REPLY is interested in the problems of women generally, the mothers, the business women, the property owning women, the teachers, the girls who work; and it proposes to have things to say on these very topics from time to time.

Other Replies and Last Words

"A Woman not a Stenographer," writes *The Tribune*:

"A word more in regard to 'Stenographer.' She does not stand alone, but represents 89 per cent of the women of New York State who do not want the burden of the government put upon them. Many of them have already all the burdens and responsibilities their strength is equal to, and all feel they have neither the taste nor adaptability for political life.

"They do not agree with 'Business Man' that it will take but 'ten minutes once a year,' but consider that casting a vote requires careful and thorough study. As one working woman put it, at the end of her day's work she was so exhausted she could not even read a book, much less study the problem of political life, and she would never cast a vote without careful study.

"The proposition is made that in this case the majority should not rule, but the 11 per cent who want the suffrage alone. This leads to an absurdity if the law puts the burden of government on women's shoulders. Many who should not be asked to do it will feel the same conscientious necessity that upright men do. Many would be forced to vote to offset other opinions, and the politicians could be depended on to urge on unwilling voters.

Raymond Keene Snively writes to *The Times* from Bloomfield, N. J.:

"I think the true cause of the present public hysteria in the matter of woman suffrage is the lack of expression of emotion through the proper channels of love, home-building and childbirth. We are top heavy with femininity! There are too many single women! Owing to the conditions under which we live it is almost

impossible for a young man to marry while he is young and satisfy his young wife. She earns \$15 a week and he \$18, and he hasn't the nerve to ask her to share \$18 a week when she can make \$15, and she does not see the good of marrying and tying herself up for life to one man if she must continue the daily grind, either at home or in an office. And nine times out of ten she won't do it. But is the lack of the vote the cause? As a consequence of youth's attitude and our sociological conditions, a woman advances to thirty years or more before she gets her mental balance, and, just as she is almost emotionally dried up, she suddenly realizes that there is something lacking in her life; and she turns, wild-eyed with despair, to the vote as the solution of her whole problem.

"No such simplicity! The conditions are too complex to solve them by the simple equality of voting privilege. She may be equipped to vote, but it isn't the vote she wants, and she knows it! So do men who use a modicum of brains and a slight knowledge of human nature. That is why woman suffrage is not prevalent to-day. There is no need, and it would not cure the evil which calls for the vote. Good heavens, women, we sympathize with you all right, but why make your lives more miserable when your new toy is broken in the instant of realization of possession? Woman strives to get the vote simply because she can't have what she really wants, and she must find something to occupy her mind to crowd out her disappointment and emptiness in life. That is the main reason why a few far-seeing women who are willing to sit down and analyze the situation and their own emotions and status oppose woman suffrage.

Inconsistent, Untruthful, Natural

Proofs accumulate that consistency is not a jewel in the diadem of "Rev." Anna Shaw or any other queen of suffragism. It is equally clear that many of the suffrage leaders may be said to tell the truth if you don't care what they say.

Miss Shaw grieves for the children of Europe who will be fatherless when the war is over, having, however, gloried hitherto in the fact that the women could and would take care of a little matter like that at any time.

Mrs. Blatch (daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton) weeps considerably, but not enough to flood the basement, because so many beautiful things have been destroyed by the vandals of the armies, but she never went into mourning because of the houses, the priceless paintings, and human beings probably, whom the militant suffs of England destroyed.

One of the most persistent of the suffrage claims is that all of the working women want the ballot. But a canvass of the state of Pennsylvania shows that only about three working women out of every hundred consider woman suffrage desirable. This might be considered a trifling item, however.

One of the strongest as well as briefest of all the fatal attacks upon the spurious suffrage claim that women without the vote are taxed without representation has been made by Miss Anne Rutherford, of Georgia, who says:

"Taxes are not the price of the ballot. Taxes are levied for the support of the state or the government, and none are exempt. They must be paid without regard to sex or age. In consideration of this the state or government on its part covenants to give protection to life and property and the benefits of a well-ordered society. We tax foreigners who do not vote. The ballot is a privilege conferred by the state; the

state does not sell it. The price is not tax money."

And thus another inconsistency of the suffs (possibly wilful, it is repeated so often) has been exposed.

Many temperance workers in North Dakota expressed surprise and regret recently that W. C. T. U. workers should abandon their work in the wet state of Colorado where women vote, to work for woman suffrage in the dry state of North Dakota where men alone vote.

First the suffragists visited the White House and refused to shake hands with the President. They go a second time and hiss him because he doesn't offer to shake hands with them. "Varium et mutabile semper feminist," so to speak.

Comes along, finally, the editor of *The Woman's Journal*, Alice Stone Blackwell, of Dorchester, Mass. Does Alice Stone Blackwell care what she says? Evidently not. The New York *Tribune* prints these falsehoods among other things from her:

"Anti-suffragists believe that women ought to marry for money.

"Anti-suffragists are opposed to public spirit and to all forms of public spirit and to all forms of public service for women.

"Anti-suffragists believe that every mother ought to be narrow-minded, irrational and unjust.

"Anti-suffragists disapprove of limiting woman's hours of labor."

Mrs. Medill McCormick says there is no opposition to woman suffrage in this country—which recalls the suffrage speaker who said at a meeting in Boston, "Facts? What do I care about facts, Facts have nothing to do with this question."

THE REPLY earnestly expresses the hope that the feminists and suffragists will keep on being inconsistent and untruthful—and natural.